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the mind. Schmiedel's Commentary on Corinthians affords material for arguing that the idea of representative penal substitution is the more certain, and that this notion had become blended with that of sacrifice in an age when sacrifice was ritualistic tradition without any well-defined theoretic explanation. Probably this correlation of ideas cannot be established without drawing on other sources than the New Testament, but the historian profits little if the dogma of inspiration is saved while the meaning is lost.

We have reserved the most original feature of the book. If there is too little rigor in expounding Paul, there is perhaps overmuch in dealing with the Apocalypse. Without fully substantiating his theory, Dr. Briggs offers a new dissection of John's Apocalypse into original documents. That this puzzling book makes use of inherited apocalyptic material is probable, but that it is possible to treat it as a compilation and show its component parts may still be doubted. So long as Dr. Briggs presents us with results without the full critical process, we read with interest but without conviction. This dissection, quite as intricate as any yet offered, serves to show how much of Palestinian imagery could find no place in the philosophical dogma of Christendom, and the discussion can only promote the solution of an unsolved problem. Here, as elsewhere, the work, by its freedom from contentiousness, and by its respect for other learned opinion, claims a dignified place in contributions to historical theology.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

Italy and Her Invaders. By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., Litt.D. Vol. V. The Lombard Invasion; and Vol. VI. The Lombard Kingdom. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. Macmillan and Co. 1895. Pp. xxi, 484; xix, 635.)

WITH the two volumes on the Lombards in Italy, Dr. Hodgkin brings his great work down to within one volume of its conclusion. It has been a work very variously judged according to the point of view of the reader, but none can deny to Dr. Hodgkin the great merit of having grappled bravely with a period full of difficulties. Sources meagre and perverted by every circumstance of ignorance and prejudice; nations wholly barbarous or just emerging into fuller civilization; institutions obscure and shifting,—these have been the materials out of which the narrative of the Italian invasions from Visigoth to Lombard has necessarily been woven.

In beginning the present division of his work, Dr. Hodgkin calls renewed attention to these difficulties, which have certainly nowhere been greater, and thus seems to forearm himself against any criticism arising from this inherent source of imperfections. The plan of his two volumes includes, primarily, an account of the circumstances which led to the Lombard movement upon Italy; an inquiry into what he calls the "Langobardic foreworld"; the establishment of the Lombard kingdom in the Po valley, and its expansion through the peninsula; the foundation of the

four great duchies of Trent, Friuli, Benevento, and Spoleto; their relations with each other and with the kingdom, and the dynastic history of the royal house. Connected with this central thread we have elaborate treatises upon many topics related, indeed, to the Lombards; but so numerous and so far-reaching that one has occasionally to remind oneself that the title of the book is not "The Invaders of Italy," but "*Italy and Her Invaders.*" Among these collateral subjects we have the papacy, especially under Gregory I., to whom nearly 200 out of the 1100 pages are devoted; the empire, chiefly in its dealings with the papacy and with the Lombards; the Franks with especial reference to their future relations with the Lombards in Italy; and finally the legal and political institutions of Italy under Lombard influence.

The main reliance throughout is naturally upon the national historian of the Lombards, Paul "the Deacon," an author contemporary with Charlemagne, and, therefore, dependent upon tradition or upon earlier writings of which we have little or no knowledge. Using Paulus as a guide, the author has drawn into his service now one and now another contemporary source from which a scrap of information could be gained to complete or to correct the central narrator. He has read his sources with diligence and has utilized them after his own familiar fashion to make up a fairly continuous narrative.

Yet we doubt if any one can lay down these two weighty and elegant volumes without a somewhat distressing feeling of confusion, and of disproportion. Dr. Hodgkin betrays, in his preface, a view of historical writing which is as far as possible from being commendable. He distinguishes sharply between the "general reader" and the "trained historical student," and goes so far as to advise, after the manner of older writers, that the general reader should entirely omit the chapters on Lombard law, the administration of the exarchate, and the "Istrian Schism." Indeed, it is plainly to facilitate this process that he has treated these subjects by themselves, and thus deprived them of that connection with the outward movement of events which alone can give to each life and interest. Such distinction among readers is a piece of meaningless conventionalism. Surely in this case there can be no question that the Lombard law and the civil administration of the empire are as much more interesting than the dull and meagre catalogue of horrors called Lombard political history, as a serious review of modern public questions is more interesting than a penny dreadful. The separation of political and institutional history admissible in a manual is out of place in a work intended to be exhaustive.

It seems to be in the same purpose of patronizing the reader that Dr. Hodgkin adopts a style which, we should suppose, far from conciliating, would exasperate almost any one who looks for a plain and simple account of the things that are really important in the life of a nation. It would have been most welcome to all such readers, if, instead of toiling through 1100 pages, they had been let off with 400, and the change could

easily be made without losing a word that helps towards the result. Verbosity and what he styles the "dignity of history" seem to mean almost the same thing to our author. Big words and sounding phrases abound, and not merely in places where the subject rises to any unusual height. Picturesqueness seems to be the aim of every description, and this at the expense of clearness and definiteness of impression. It is undoubtedly a virtue in the historian to avoid cock-sureness and to make it quite clear that he is not omniscient, but Dr. Hodgkin's use of qualifying phrases is most extraordinarily frequent; we find on one page four "probablys," "possibly," "perhaps," "apparently," and "seem to have been." The effect is more than unsettling. Paulus says that King Alboin's nephew, Gisulf, when he was made governor of Forum Julii, "demanded also of the king droves of well-bred mares." Hodgkin says, "Horses were also needed, that their riders might scour the Venetian plain and bring swift tidings of the advance of a foe; and accordingly Gisulf received from his sovereign a large troop of brood mares of high courage and endurance." This kind of expansion is typical. It is, frankly, padding, and nothing less, and frequently produces an impression quite the reverse of true. When Paulus speaks of a man fleeing in *Austriam*, our author cannot refrain from saying that he fled "into the eastern half of the Lombard kingdom, a territorial division which we now for the first time meet with under a name memorable for Italy in after centuries, and in another connexion — the fateful name of AUSTRIA." Here the mere accidental use of a term common to several of the Germanic states is made to appear important and significant, and this is happening in almost every paragraph.

Again it is quite admissible for an historian to illustrate the conditions of one age or place by comparison with others, but he must be quite sure that the comparison is really significant. Our author is very fond of this kind of illumination, but is frequently led away by his desire to be telling, as, e.g., when he calls Pavia a "barbaric Versailles," simply because Queen Theodelinda had pictures of the Lombard victories painted in her *pala-tium*, or again, when he gives us a detailed comparison of the Lombard invasion with that of the Israelites into Canaan.

Even the general reader might be pardoned if he were a little wearied by such sentimental outbursts as that on page 433 of Vol. V., in which Dr. Hodgkin sighs over the silence of history as to the emotions of a "daughter of the Thuringians" (more simply daughter of King Agilulf) while in captivity at Ravenna, when set free, and when restored to her father's arms, and as to how that father felt when he heard that "a mightier than the Exarch," etc. — in short, that she was dead. Indeed, we may be thankful that history is silent on such useless matters, for as it is we have in these bulky volumes far too much of petty personalities.

These defects of style might more easily be pardoned if they were only blots on a great historical picture, but they are of the essence of the author's character as an historian.

Not infrequently a fatal tendency to generalization leads him in these, as in former volumes, into curious inconsistencies. For instance, he adopts from the beginning the theory that the Lombards were a far more savage and barbarous people, and far more oppressive conquerors, than the earlier Germanic invaders; yet he nowhere supports this theory by facts. On the contrary, his account of their march into Italy and their treatment of the inhabitants is noticeably favorable to their humanity and discipline. The postponement of any analysis of the Lombard political institutions until nearly the close of the book, leaves the reader in utter uncertainty as to the meaning of the words "king," "duke," etc., during the whole account of the growth of the new state. True, there is a little philological inquiry, borrowed from German writers, about the word "duke," but no intelligible account of the thing itself. The same is true of the relations between Lombardi and "Romani." In the very last chapter we have a meagre statement, largely copied from Karl Hegel, but leaving us as ignorant as before. The alleged greater oppressiveness of Lombard rule is ascribed with considerable iteration to the fact that they took their thirds of conquest in the form of produce rather than land, thus becoming a kind of absentee landlords. Paulus says, "In these days many of the Roman nobles were slain *ob avaritiam*. The rest [Hodgkin says of the Roman inhabitants, not of the nobles] being divided among their 'guests' on condition of paying a third part of their produce to the Lombards, became tributary." From this one sentence we are given to understand that the large Italian landowners were, as a rule, killed off, while the lesser holders became, through the payment of a third of their produce, something like serfs to the Lombards. All this is emphasized by comparison with the former invaders, so that one would almost get the impression that Herulian and Visigoth had become honest Italian farmers, and left to the Lombards the function of ruining the native population. In all this inquiry Dr. Hodgkin makes no pretence at originality, but frankly presents the views of others and declares himself, generally with moderation, in favor of one or another conclusion.

It interests our author to point out what he calls the germs of personal law in the Lombard state; but we may well ask whether the idea of personal law was not here, as elsewhere, the natural thing to the Teutonic mind, and the attempts pointed out in Italy to make other peoples subject to Lombard law rather the germs of a new sense of territoriality. Surely it is misleading to speak of personal law as if it were a development of Carolingian times. Dr. Hodgkin's principal reference on this point, the driving out of a Saxon contingent by the Lombards, because they wanted to live *in proprio jure*, is not convincing; for that phrase might simply mean in this loose Latin "independently."

In the chapters on law we find that Dr. Hodgkin, after all, cannot hope to escape the general reader; for he is evidently addressing him at every turn. He very properly disclaims any scientific analysis of the Lombard law and simply makes selections from the code of Rothari and the

legislation of Luitprand, interspersing them with somewhat jaunty illustrations and occasionally with references to the other Germanic codes. The indications of advancing civilization are pointed out with considerable cleverness, but the impression of legal principles is blurred by a pervading incapacity to say the thing which needs saying at the right moment. Of course we have to hear about the English jury system and the *sacramentales* or fellow-swearers, but we doubt if any one would be much the clearer for this comparison. One would suppose that the *sacramentalis* was expected to know the facts of the case, and would certainly get the idea that the whole theory of the trial by *sacramentum* rested upon the power of one juror to break the deadlock which Dr. Hodgkin assumes as the natural condition of a Lombard trial. The really essential thing—the peculiar Teutonic conception of evidence—is left quite out of sight.

As to the religious conditions of the Lombards, we are given but little suggestion of the momentous change from Arianism to Catholicism. The obscurity of our sources leads Dr. Hodgkin to assume that religion was a matter for which the Lombards, unlike any of their Germanic relatives, had little or no interest, and he goes so far as to say that "probably" neither the counsellors of King Agilulf, nor "perhaps" the king himself, knew whether he was Arian or orthodox! It is a thankless task to point out these defects in the work of a man so sincere, so learned, and so diligent; but really one cannot open the book anywhere without being nettled by decorations which do not embellish but only confuse and mislead. This is not sound scholarship. It is amateurish from beginning to end. The traces of accurate historical method are only a surface, beneath which we constantly perceive the good, old-fashioned literary man, who writes history as an elegant accomplishment.

The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I. By Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, M.A., LL.D., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford, and FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND, LL.D., Downing Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1895. Two vols., pp. xxxviii, 678, xiii, 684.)

The book before us is by two Cambridge men. Of Sir Frederick Pollock we need not speak. He is well known in this country and, besides, he tells us in a note to the preface that "by far the greater share of the execution," by which he says he means the actual production of the book, "belongs to Mr. Maitland," who holds the chief professorship of law in that university. Mr. Maitland's historical turn of mind, so marked in everything he has written, first found expression, if we are not mistaken, in his *Gloucestershire Pleas of the Crown* (1883). Taking his work altogether, from the Gloucestershire Pleas to and including the History, we